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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1917

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

PRESIDENT WILSON APPEALS TO THE WOMEN OF THE NATION. "START CANNING. PRESERVING. PICKLING-DRYING AND STORING.. THE SERVICE WE ARE ASKING IS ONE PRIMARILY FOR THE HOUSEHOLD - UPON THE HOUSEWIFE
MUCH OF THE BURDEN WILL FALL
I APPEAL TO THE
WOMEN OF THE NATION
TO DEVOTE THEIR TIME
TO THE PERFORMANCE OF THIS
VERY ESSENTIAL WORK"
W. W.
FROM LETTER TO SECRETARY HOUSTON.
WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR THE WOMEN OF THE NATION MR. PRESIDENT?
FOOD HAS BECOME A WAR MEASURE
WHO PAYS
Allender

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

First Picket to Second Picket: "What will HE do if they ignore his appeal?"

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Notes of the Week

Georgia

THERE is some objection in the Georgia press to the work of the National Woman's Party for the federal amendment. One Macon paper attacks the persistence of suffragists at this time for franchise reform as undoubtedly due to German influence, and draws a contrast between them and "the womanhood of Georgia, on the high plane where one would expect to find it, whether among advocates or opponents of suffrage."

It is interesting in this connection to note that there are two bills up for discussion in the Georgia legislature, for opening the state university to women and for raising the age of consent from ten to fourteen years of age. Among the great numbers of women in the state asking, apparently in vain, for the passage of these bills are the members of the state federation of women's clubs. After hearing the legislature discuss the bills, Mrs. Nellie Peters Black, president of the Georgia federation, wrote to the press of the state:

"We come, a body of over 25,000 women, taxpayers, many of us wage earners, all of us with just as good brains in our heads as the brothers who were born of the same parents, and what does the legislature say? 'No, no, you might have a bad influence over the boy in your class.'

"Today, since reading how the legislators are treating the plea we made for the protection of the little girls of Georgia by changing the age of consent from ten years to sixteen, I am incensed—am incensed and bitterly disappointed. I feel like saying to every woman in Georgia, 'Stop working for your town; stop paying your taxes; let all public work stop, until we have justice—simple, pure justice.'"

There seems to be more righteous protest in Georgia women than can please the men who hold back such obvious reforms as these. This is the spirit in the women of the South that is pressing its legislators toward the federal amendment so that Southern women can free themselves from such intolerable conditions.

The Legion of Death

THE Russian women's battalion, known as the Legion of Death, went into action against the Germans at Smorgon on July 25. No casualty list of the women's battalion has yet been published, but it is reported that only fifty remain of the two hundred women who reached the front. The commander, Vera Butchkareff, is among the wounded.

Among the prisoners taken by the women were a number of German women fighters. This was the first knowledge outside of Germany that women were used there for fighting. It is now believed that the number of women on the eastern front is steadily increasing. A correspondent of the United Press reports from Petrograd that hundreds of women there and elsewhere in Russia are in training and will be sent to the front; and that Premier Kerensky has authorized marine detachments and has promised to assign them to ships.

Seventeen Billion Dollars

THE first year of the war will cost the men and women of this country about $17,000,000,000. Secretary McAdoo this week outlined these enormous expenses to the Senate Finance Committee, now considering the war revenue bill. The committee was staggered by this disclosure, which throws the financial plan of Congress into disorder. It is probable, according to the press, that another billion will be added to the proposed tax bill of $1,670,000,000 by putting taxes on sources still untouched and that the rest of the great sum will be raised by bond issue.

The administration will expect women to do their full share toward bearing the enormous burden this seventeen billion dollars to be raised will throw on every person in the United States. The President will urge them to pinch their household expenses more sharply. Secretary McAdoo will organize them into selling bonds. And the increased price of every article to be bought will force them to pay a good half of this war cost. Meanwhile the government pursues its small policy of ignoring women politically as far as women allow it.

An Easy Straining at a Gnat

THE people of the District will welcome the chance to inform Congress that they are not spineless, but possessed of a community spirit. They are anxious, indeed, in these critical days to have a voice in the government for which they must make such large sacrifices. *The Times* has not been discouraged by the talk that Congress is busy with too many things to consider the question of suffrage for the District. Public attention *CAN* be fixed on this issue. The senate and house ought never to be too busy to give the American people or any small part of their number democracy at home.

The Washington *Times* is still using large argument in a small contest.

Presidential Power

THE conference committee of the senate and the house at work on the food control bill, has been forced by President Wilson to drop the sections providing for a food board of three, instead of the single food administrator, as originally planned, and creating a war expenditures committee in Congress. To both these sections Mr. Wilson is opposed. Before the committee meeting the President conferred with Representative Lever, heading the house members, and with Senator Chamberlain, the administration's senate spokesman. Within an hour after reconvening, the senate conferees who had been holding out for both these points, yielded. Members of the committee declare that the President's word settled the strongly contested question.

It becomes increasingly hard for women to see how President Wilson dares to expect them to believe him when he says that he must wait for Congress to show itself unquestionably for the federal amendment for suffrage before giving the measure his own sanction. Why is the federal amendment unique in the machinery of government?

War Measures

THE vote on the national prohibition amendment was taken in the senate on August the first and passed with 65 favorable votes and 20 opposed. A clause was attached to the bill stating that the amendment must be ratified by three-fourths of the states within six years. The debate and vote is interesting to the friends of national suffrage, because of the analogy between the amendments; they are the two embodying prohibition and the suffrage principles which have long been agitated in this country, both in individual states and nationally, and over which there has been endless controversy.

The fact that the one has been brought to a favorable vote in the present war Congress makes us feel that the same fate may be in store for the other, and further makes us feel that at least the women should be awarded the same recognition given to the Prohibitionists.

In reading through the Senate debate it is especially worth noting that prohibition was not discussed, for the most part, as a war measure. In fact it could not be considered at this time as a war measure. Both the house and the senate have included in the Food Control Bill a measure of restriction on the manufacture and sale of intoxicant liquors deemed sufficient to safeguard the interests of the nation in time or war and to assure the most efficient prosecution of this war.

Among the vigorous opponents of the federal prohibition amendment were two stalwart Republicans—Penrose of Pennsylvania, and Calder of New York. These two doughty champions of the liquor interests did not speak of war measures, but of the divine rights of the state as against the federal government, little caring for the fact that they and their party have always championed just the opposite theory of government. When any member of Congress wishes to oppose action on a proposition, as none know better than the advocates of suffrage, he brings forward the time-honored issue of states' rights.

The answer made to the two gentlemen on this score was that every state knew on entering the Union, the way in which the constitution is amended, that no state was forced into the Union but that all came in with their eyes open, accepting that amending clause without a murmur.

Those people who are now straining every nerve for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment feel encouraged that another constitutional amendment, much less a war measure than theirs, has been brought to a successful vote in one chamber of our faltering national legislature.

The West Interprets the "Militant" Picket

The Conversion of Representative Timberlake

The Colorado Branch of the National Woman's Party, under the efficient leadership of Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler, was the first of the Western state organizations to organize effective protests in many Colorado cities on behalf of the imprisoned suffrage pickets. The letters below illustrate the conversion of a stand-pat suffragist, Representative Timberlake, to a more open-minded view-point through the effective logic of Mrs. Fowler.

MRS. BERTHA W. FOWLER,
State Chairman Woman's Party,
Colorado Springs, Colo.

MY DEAR MRS. FOWLER: Your telegram of the 30th ult. duly received, urging the necessity in the name of true patriotism of the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, granting suffrage to the women of America, as a war measure.

It is needless for me to tell you, Mrs. Fowler, that I am most earnestly in favor of this amendment, not only as a war measure, but for peace times as well, not viewing this subject at any time as a privilege to be conferred by Congress but as an inherent right, from which women during the years from the foundation of our government have been unjustly deprived. And I have lost no opportunity to advocate that Congress now do them simple justice and speedily pass this amendment.

I feel that now, having declared my personal position on this question, I can express to you a deep conviction that has been forced upon me during the past few weeks by what has been happening here, which is that the cause of woman's suffrage has been very much weakened by the picketing of the White House and Capitol during the past weeks, when the greatest efforts have been put forth by all in devising ways and means for the prosecution of the war upon which this country has entered. So while I wish sincerely that this right could be accorded our women at this time, I feel that this goal has been further removed by the course pursued. I know that in these suggestions I will be censured, yet my convictions are strong upon the subject and I feel that I would not be true to myself and to you if I did not portray conditions here as I see them.

I shall read your telegram into the *Congressional Record* as you request, unless unanimous consent, which I must obtain, is denied me.

I want to assure you, Mrs. Fowler, I have written only as an ardent friend of the cause of woman's suffrage.—Very sincerely, (signed) *Charles B. Timberlake.*

HON. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. TIMBERLAKE: Your letter of the 2d inst. has been duly received and I am much obliged to you for your considerate and frank criticism.

Indeed we do not doubt your steadfast friendship for our cause. We have had too many proofs of it.

At the same time we can hardly expect you to see it as women do, particularly the women of the National Woman's Party.

I really think the prejudice still survives, unconsciously, perhaps, in many cases, that women do wrong to go beyond asking prettily and as a boon for what you yourself state to be an inherent right. Only on these grounds can one account for the wide difference of judgment on the actions of men and women.

Do you really believe that men, tricked and flouted as women have been for years on this fundamental question, would be content at this stage to hold up banners as evidence of their resentment? I cannot think it. If men had gone very much farther than that, instead of blaming them, the victims of injustice, you would be blaming those whose crooked action caused the scandal—the President, who with all the world marvelling at the eloquence and beauty of the language in which he represented this country as the great champion above all others of democracy and the sacred principle of self-government, yet denies and plays with that same principle at home—the Envoy who, having used all his political influence to deprive half the people of their inherent right, stands before the nascent Republic of Russia with a deliberate misstatement of fact intended to mislead an ally that it may believe the devotion of this country to democratic ideals to be as great as its own.

Upon so great provocation, how dignified and temperate was the protest of the women!

It is not as if this were the first time the women had asked for the vote—we have years of disappointing experience behind us of the ways of politicians. We have yet to find, in all the past fifty years, the time which was not inappropriate for woman to ask for her freedom, and it has come to the stage when all times are alike to us.

I worked for suffrage in England years ago, before Mrs. Pankhurst was a leader, and it was the same thing there—the time was never just right. If national affairs were not too urgent, then it was party expediency which stopped the way—and the result was revolution.

The mistaken idea has gone forth that women won partial suffrage in England because politicians were so touched by the magnificent war work done by the women, that they gave it out of gratitude.

I am too well acquainted with the tactics of Asquith and Lloyd George in the past to believe any such thing.

Word has come to us that what gained women their place on the new Reform Bill was the attitude of the organized women munition workers who struck, not for the just wage of which they had been deprived by a notoriously sweating government, but for the vote. The government had to give in because they were in a position to demand it—a question not of justice but of political expediency.

It is just the same case in this country. Any excuse will be seized to postpone the inevitable moment, and the leaders of the National Woman's Party have very clear vision and unerring judgment.

It is an urgent matter, not one of taste or fancy which can be safely postponed indefinitely.

Women have to bear the burdens and make the sacrifices of this war, miserable result as it is of exclusively masculine government, with all the humane and social considerations which are woman's forte left out. She has to work as she may for the conservation of life, physical and spiritual, among the ruins falling about her. And she may do all this hopelessly handicapped because, forsooth, some men will not bear to hear the truth.

This great country is to make of itself a spectacle and a laughing stock among belated peoples struggling towards the light, while it imprisons its brightest, bravest women for making the most peaceful protest against long continued and intolerable injustice that it was in their power to make.

Pardon my inflicting such a long letter upon you, but I am anxious to give you a little of the woman's side of the question, because you can help us. And I am sure you will by at least passing it on to the unenlightened.—Sincerely yours, (signed) *Bertha W. Fowler.*

MRS. BERTHA W. FOWLER,
Colorado Springs, Colo.

MY DEAR MRS. FOWLER: I send you only a word this morning in acknowledgment of your good letter of July 6, in answer to mine, wherein I made criticism of the policy of picketing the White House.

I wrote this, Mrs. Fowler, in all seriousness, and I am glad indeed to note that you accepted it in this way. And while you do not agree with me that it will have the effect that I suggested, I greatly admire the frankness of your letter, and congratulate you on the very strong showing you make as indicating the very deep feeling that you and your party have upon this subject. And viewing it as you do, I cannot find it in my heart to differ from you further upon this point. . . .

I recognize how deeply your heart is in this and I thank you for your expression of these convictions.—Very sincerely, (signed) *Charles B. Timberlake.*

Summer Organization Activities

TWO of the most effective of the Woman's Party mass meetings, now being held in many parts of the country to put before men and women the unbiased story of the late government prosecutions of suffragists, were held last week in Buffalo and Syracuse. For many weeks Miss Elsie Hill, the daughter of Representative Hill, has been holding popular meetings in New York State. At the mass meetings in the two large cities sentiment in favor of the forthright propaganda of the Woman's Party was aroused by speakers who had picketed or been imprisoned at the capital. At the Iroquois Hotel conference in Buffalo Miss Mabel Vernon, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles and Miss Elsie Hill were the speakers, with Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, New York City chairman, presiding. In Syracuse Mrs. Laurence Lewis, of Pennsylvania, one of the first pickets arrested, also spoke. Six hundred dollars were collected at the two meetings to continue the active fight for the federal amendment.

Miss Hill will remain in New York State all summer organizing the popular sentiment that is now running high for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment this session as a war measure. Resolutions to this effect are flowing in to Congress steadily from New York State. Even at street meetings petitions are framed by the crowd and signed by hundreds, to be submitted to the President and Congress.

THE impressive demand of the South for federal suffrage continues steadily. From South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana comes evidence that Southern women have been aroused by the events of the past few weeks in Washington. Mrs. Helen E. Vaughan, chairman of the South Carolina branch, writes from Greenville:

"As soon as news of the suffrage sentences reached Greenville the Equal Suffrage Party held a meeting of protest. The deep indignation of the women present immediately found expression in a telegram to President Wilson: 'We protest against the unjust sentences passed upon our fellow suffragists in Washington, who were quietly carrying propaganda banners. We urge you to demand their immediate release, and to use your great influence toward the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, which alone will terminate this agitation.' Telegrams of protest were also sent to all South Carolina congressmen, and to Chairman Webb of the Judiciary Committee, asking him to push the amendment.

"One dear old lady voiced the feeling of all present that nothing in the telegrams should imply that South Carolina suffragists wished this agitation to cease until the amendment had passed. Everyone present felt that picketing should go on until the government recognized the just demand for democracy."

Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, who has been speaking in many cities of Louisiana and Mississippi, reports the appointment of Mrs. Charles F. Engle, of Natchez, as state chairman, and Miss Josephine Fitts, of Natchez, as secretary and treasurer of the state organization. State headquarters have been established in Natchez and an active campaign is being planned from this center. Mrs. Thompson, during August, will speak in the larger cities of Kentucky, forming a state branch of the Woman's Party and holding a conference in Louisville within the month.

TYPICAL of the new spirit of Southern women is the feeling expressed in a telegram sent to the President by Mrs. L. Crozier French, as chairman for Tennessee: "To the President of the United States—The great Emancipator said, 'Thou hypocrite, first cast the beam out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye.' For this government to imprison women for bearing aloft banners of democracy, and then to ask mothers to give their sons to die to free people across the ocean, seems an anomalous position. The United States has long been a democracy in theory. Make it one in fact, Mr. President. Then only will you be able to show other countries how to do likewise."—*Mrs. L. Crozier French, chairman Tennessee Branch.*

A Pennsylvania Protest

From the Philadelphia Press, July 19

INCENSED over the arrest and imprisonment of sixteen suffragists in Washington, Mrs. Marion L. Cohen-Polak, of Philadelphia, has given up her work in the Hoover food conservation campaign. In a statement issued last night Mrs. Cohen-Polak bitterly attacks the policy that will not allow women to vote, but will ask them to "clean up after" men who have not finished their work.

As president of the Big Sisters of Philadelphia Mrs. Cohen-Polak undertook to carry on the food work in the Twenty-eighth ward. She placed at the disposal of the local committee, headed by Mrs. Henry D. Jump, the aid of the 750 women of the organization. The work undertaken was to visit women who had not signed the food conservation cards and gain either their signatures or their reasons for not signing.

On Tuesday Mrs. Cohen-Polak received lists containing 1,270 names of women in the Twenty-eighth ward. Half of these had been classified and were ready for the work when Mrs. Cohen-Polak read of the Washington arrests of suffragists. She immediately sent the uncompleted work back to Mrs. Jump with the declaration that she was "through with any work not particularly woman's work," and that she would interest the women associated with her only in work that "men cannot do or will not do."

"Don't think me un-American," said Mrs. Cohen-Polak. "I am American to the heart. But when I see such women as Mary H. Ingham and those others jailed because they are pleading for something that they know is just, it turns me against work that women are asked to do, just because the men do not want to be bothered with it.

"This government has employes, the state has the same, and the cities as well. These people are well paid for labors usually poorly done. These people should be forced to render an honest day's work for an honest day's wages, but the political game, run by men, for men, does not allow this. These are the people who should be doing the work that the President asks women, whom he does not consider even intelligent enough to have the right to express an opinion, to do for them. At the first need of real labor, the women of the country are asked to help, and expected to help, for nothing, while every man that helps, or nearly every one of them, expects his wages for it."

Mrs. Cohen-Polak said that she was forced to the conclusion that "if this was a man-made and a man-governed country, then the women in it should not be asked to assume the duties of citizens."

Her statement continues:

"If women constituted the second line of defense, as has been stated by Mr. Hoover, then that second line of defense has some rights.

"It is the women of the country who give their sons, their husbands and their brothers and sweethearts for the fighting, and they are the ones left destitute, with the measly little pension given by the government to the widows. That would be enough for women to do, but this government has taken time by the forelock, and before a man had volunteered, after the declaration of war, the women of the country were appealed to, to do their duty by their country. *The President of the United States is the man who represents our country today, and his attitude on the question of woman suffrage should make him ashamed to ask women for their labor, and their loyalty.* No such outrage on the rights of free-born Americans could have been perpetrated, as was committed in Washington, had he not been perfectly satisfied to have the situation handled that way.

"If this is the attitude of the administration, then, I, for one, will restrict my activities to those that men will not do. If men are so narrow that they do not want women to share the rights of citizenship with them, then they have no right to burden them with duties of citizenship. That is my point of view, unless the administration changes its tactics."

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Present Status

In the Senate

Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editors

Miss Vivian Pierce — Miss Pauline Clarke

Associate Editors

Miss Lavinia Dock — Miss Crystal Eastman — Miss Pauline Jacobson
Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel — Mrs. Gilson Gardner — Miss Fola La Follette

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

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The Long Arm of the Executive

IT has seemed to advocates of suffrage at Washington as if nothing could be more open and unashamed than the influence of the Executive over the actions of the House Judiciary Committee in its dealings with woman suffrage.

That committee has twelve Democratic members out of a total membership of twenty-one; two-thirds of these Democrats, nearly one-half the committee, have declared themselves opposed to national woman suffrage. The committee steadily refuses to consider the question of woman suffrage at its meetings, and it refuses to allow the house to consider it. When Mr. Webb, the chairman of the committee, and a staunch Democrat, is reproached with the open unfairness of handling in such a way a measure affecting the interests of a large disfranchised class, he coolly writes in answer:

"The Democratic caucus passed a resolution that only war emergency measures would be considered during this extra session, and that the President might designate from time to time special legislation which he regarded as war legislation, and such would be acted on by the house. The President not having designated woman suffrage and national prohibition so far as war measures, the judiciary committee up to this time has not felt warranted, under the caucus rule, in reporting either of these measures. If the President should request either or both of them as war measures, then I think the committee would attempt to take some action on them promptly. So you see after all it is important to your cause to make the President see that woman suffrage comes within the rules laid down."

No member of the Woman's Party could more frankly assert the responsibility of the Chief Executive for the passage of the suffrage amendment.

But the compliance of the House Judiciary Committee fades into insignificance beside the obedience of the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee to the Presidential mandate.

The Senate Suffrage Committee authorized its chairman, Mr. Jones, of New Mexico, May 15, to report the federal suffrage amendment favorably to the senate. Every member of the committee present voted for an immdiate favorable report, and all the other members have concurred in this action since that date. Yet three months have gone by and the report has not been made.

In answer to the earnest requests of women whose interests are involved in the bill, in answer to the impatient demands of his Republican colleagues on the committee, Senator Jones says he is busy, he wants to write a particularly convincing report, he does not approve of suffrage pickets, he will report the measure (after three months' delay) "in a reasonable time."

It is perfectly evident that some power outside the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee, which is supposed to have jurisdiction over the report of a federal suffrage amendment, is moving Senator Jones to disregard the official action of the committee of which he is chairman. And it is equally plain that the power which is holding back action on woman suffrage in the Senate is the same power as that which is holding back action in the House. The long arm of the Executive which is suppressing action on woman suffrage in both branches of Congress.

It is not the business of women to alter methods of committee action. It is their business to find out what political agent is blocking their measure, to place responsibility at the right door and to ask action from the most powerful source of action.

The most powerful source of action in Congress is the President of the United States, the leader of the party controlling Congress. Women who want justice must ask it of the President. Standing on the platform he does, of "war for world democracy," needing the help of women as he does, the President must yield to a direct appeal for justice, if women will make it, and make it insistently.

A Russian on American Democracy

Elias Tobenkin, Author of "Witte Arrives"

AN argument in favor of permitting women to vote is on a par with an argument that a man should not kick his grandmother. Does justice need an argument to justify itself? Well, woman suffrage is justice, basic, fundamental justice—no more. I can see no woman question as distinct from the question of human right and justice.

The Russian people have lately proved to the world their grasp of justice by their liberality toward the women of that country. To one who knows Russia there is nothing out of the ordinary in this.

It is just as things should be in view of the remarkable role women have played in the history of Russia's struggle for freedom.

WOMEN in Russia, not only the Breshkovskayas, the few we heard about in this country, but thousands, yes, hundreds of thousands of obscure Russian women the world never heard of, never knew of, have for generations fought side by side with men for freedom. One of my earliest recollections is of a certain Sunday when word reached our family that a young woman, a former playmate of my mother, had ended her life in a prison—I think it was at Kharkov—by cutting her throat with a piece of glass. That girl was a revolutionist. She ended her life to escape police torture and inquisition. That women—I remember her face only from a pale, weak photograph in a family album—was looked upon as a saint in our home. She was looked upon as a saint and martyr in every home in the town where we lived. Despite the fact that the law forbade mentioning her name we talked about her lovingly and in whispers. Her memory was a mute guest at our table on every festal occasion.

Thousands, hundreds of thousands, of towns and hamlets in Russia have the memory of such a woman, a woman who has given her last full measure of devotion to freedom, whether by cutting her arteries with a piece of glass rather than betray her comrades, or by being strangulated by the hangman's noose, or by breathing her last under the knout of a Siberian prison warden. Everywhere throughout Russia the memory of such martyred, sainted women lives and is reverenced. Among the most touching poems of Nakrasov are those which describe the willing martyrdom of the wives of Russian revolutionists, who have renounced titles, standing, luxuries, and have faithfully followed their rebel husbands to the remotest regions of Siberia, knowing that the step once taken there was no turning back to light and comfort and civilization.

It is a mistake to speak of Russian women as having gained woman suffrage. The men and women of Russia have gained freedom, and they are sharing the fruits of their victory with the same equality, fairness and generosity with which they fought for it.

HAVING been brought up in the Russian atmosphere I must confess frankly that it is quite impossible for me to understand the attitude of any American who opposes woman suffrage. Such an attitude defies reason and makes logical analysis a hopeless undertaking.

In practice the United States has gone ahead of every country in the world in putting woman on a plane of equality wih man. We are ahead of every country in the matter of co-education. Woman is the equal of man in the class-room and in the laboratory. The bulk of American teachers are women—they train the manhood of the country. In business, in the field of manual labor, woman is not only put on a footing of equality with man, she is very often given preference over man. Sentimentally we love to show our gallantry by asserting the principle of "Ladies first." In our literature, our sermons, at important public functions we put woman on a pedestal. In the field of practical sociology, of applied ethics, woman is in the forefront. We encourage women to put our municipalities in order. Women are managing our charities; they are bringing the delinquent father back into the fold; they are reforming the drunken husband; they train our defective children. In short, we have been ultra modern in the place we have assigned to women in our national life.

And then, while admitting the equality of women in practice, we turn about and permit them to beg, to be insulted, to be dragged to jail for the right to vote, for the right of giving legal status to the equality which in practice has long been theirs.

A Crime Never Charged Against the Czar

William Shepherd

THE Russian woman stands side by side with her husband in this revolution.

She speaks at meetings, votes, leads, and writes for the scores of little newspapers that have sprung up all over Russia, just as if she were an ordinary human being. In the simple, childlike Russian mind, no question seems to have arisen as to the rights of women. When I asked whether she would vote in the new Russia, the Russian women realized immediately that I was either an Englishman or an American.

"Why, there's no question about it," said one Russian woman, shrugging her shoulders. "We've had bigger things to fight for in Russia than the right of women to vote. We've fought side by side with the men for human rights with no question of sex involved. We've gone to jail and we've died and we've even taken our turns at assassinations. Only an Anglo-Saxon, if you'll pardon me for plain speaking, would think of raising such a question."

I APPROACHED four of the women who sat at the various committee tables around the Duma building and plainly put to each one of them this question:

"Madame, have you ever been in jail?"

They had—all four of them. They told their stories with proud smiles. They had not been prisoners in the cat-and-mouse fashion in which the suffragettes in London have been jailed, nor in the spotlight manner in which Mrs. Sanger and the birth-control advocates in New York have lingered for a few weeks at a time behind bars—but in the way of the Russian Czar, with cold, dark cells and silence, little food and long, lonely, hopeless years of waiting.

"Has any woman in Russia ever been put to jail for demanding women's rights?" I asked one of these women, who had been jailed for a part in the Stolypin assassination. She was sitting in the office of the new National Peasants' Union, presiding over the book in which the incoming peasant delegates from every part of Russia were entering their names.

"Never! Never!" she said, emphatically. "That's one crime that has never been charged against the Czar. But we Russian women haven't been like the American and English women. The rights of all human beings, men and women, have been at stake in Russia, and men and women have been fighting side by side for them. All of us men and women have considered ourselves as human beings without any sex differences. Now that the revolution is won, men and women are still side by side. Nobody has raised the question of women's rights in the revolution until you American and English newspapermen came along."

"But are you women sure that you will be allowed to vote in the new government?"

"Why, just as sure as the men are. The question isn't even raised, I tell you. It hasn't occurred to anybody that women might NOT vote."—*From the Washington Times, June 27.*

Comments of the Press

Good Advice for Mr. Wilson

IT is no exaggeration to say that the overwhelming sentiment of the country supports the cause for which these White House pickets stand. . . . If "votes for women" has appealed to conservative Great Britain as a necessary war measure, there is every reason for the enfranchisement of the women of America, if for no other reason than the conservation of valuable energy. The amount of labor that is today being expended in the suffrage propaganda is prodigious. If it could be liberated for the more immediate and practical purposes of preparedness for civil relief, for Red Cross services, for organized food conservation, the gain would be incalculable. Mr. Hughes took this severely practical view of the issue and it is time President Wilson came around to the same position.

If the President has at last been brought to see that the agitation will be stilled only with the triumph of the suffrage cause, he will be wise to accept the situation with grace and do what he can to bring the disturbances to an early termination.

It is not as if the future of woman suffrage was uncertain; votes for women is as sure to be made universal throughout the United States as that tomorrow's sun will rise. Why not, then, frankly face the inevitable and take a forward step voluntarily, without waiting to be forced by the pressure of events, and without inflicting upon the country a possible and all too probable repetition of the painful scenes in Holloway jail?—*Philadelphia Ledger, July 20.*

Consistency

TO HEAR some men and women talk about the recent activities of the National Woman's Party in Washington one would think that men had always gained their liberties without even a breach of good manners. One would think that the carrying of a banner to call attention to a grievance was an offense against the government too serious to be clamly borne by the nation.

Yet on other pages of the same newspapers which have been inveighing against the "militancy and disorder" of the Washington suffragists we read of 25,000 men engaging in riots in Buda Pest. These men were dispersed by the police "with difficulty" after demonstrations in favor of universal, direct and secret manhood suffrage. What is the reaction in the minds of Americans reading this news? Sympathy is not with the police or the troops that dispersed the rioters. It is with the men who were showing themselves courageous enough to demand their rights from an autocratic government. If there should be news in tomorrow's papers that the Germans had risen in a mass and demanded the institution of a really democratic government in their country, there would be universal rejoicing, and the present bitter antagonism would be at once tempered with sympathy and admiration for the nation that was endeavoring to cast off its yoke.

As long as women are left disfranchised, suffragists must continue their struggle for the ballot. It is for Congress and the President to put an end to their task.—*Hartford, Conn., Globe, July 15.*

TO THIS country is given the rare opportunity of watching two demonstrations made simultaneously for the extension of democracy. One under banners with beating drums and all the honor and regalia a great nation can pour out upon its sons faring forth to a great cause; the other, under torn banners, with voices silenced, its advocates the daughters of a great nation, looking out upon the world they would serve through prison bars. It remains for the future to answer whose is the permanent victory. If we are to read the future in the light of the past, the answer is assured.—*Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, of the National Advisory Council, in the Philadelphia Public Ledger, July 23.*

Psychology of the President

IT was not made clear whether the President pardoned the militant suffragists who had been sentenced to the workhouse because he thought their sentence was wrong or in consideration of his own personal ease. No one likes to see ladies like them go to the workhouse and the President doubtless foresaw that he would be the object of ceaseless importunity, remonstrances and abuse if he permitted the sentence to be carried into effect.

President Wilson was very stiff in his opposition to a suffrage amendment to the Constitution in the first years of his administration. He was like all Southern Democrats, strongly adverse to any federal control over election in states. Apparently he is not holding so rigidly to this view as he was. He is reported to be seriously considering the advisability of Congress passing a suffrage amendment as a war measure.—*The Philadelphia Press, July 20.*

Votes, Not Jail

WE deny that the pickets were obstructing the government now engaged in war. We might agree that they were embarrassing a negligent Congress by their constant reminders of delayed justice, but the onus, clearly, is not on them. Why shouldn't the President be reminded of what the administration is neglecting? Other heads of nations are feeling the pinch applied by a persistent democracy. Kaiser Wilhelm is compelled to ponder his derelictions in regard to the restricted election franchise, and Lloyd George already has agreed to equal suffrage, which the British women have nobly earned. American women stand ready to respond just as freely, just as loyally, just as unselfishly to the calls upon them, now that the United States is involved. Why wait until the war is over to accord what should be granted with spontaneity now? Considering it as a war measure, Congress should have the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution reported out of committee forthwith, give it unanimous approval, and start it on its way to ratification by the various state legislatures. That will require three years to bring to a focus. In one hour Congress can acquit itself of the measure. If it neglects to do so, it will remain an incubus on the national lawmaking body for months to come. Once before the two houses, it cannot fail of adoption. We hope the President will cut the Gordian knot by insisting on a vote.—*The Richmond, Va., Evening Journal.*

Righteous Anger

SUFFRAGISTS of all opinions have been angered by the picketing incident in Washington. Some are angry because the pickets by embarrassing the administration at a critical period may be making suffrage unpopular. Others are angry because the pickets, during a war for democracy abroad, have been persecuted while agitating for democracy at home. The latter attitude is all the more reasonable because the police did not protect the suffragists in the exercise of their legal right to picket, stood by while rioters attacked them, and then arrested the pickets for causing the riot. But the people who have the best right to be angry are the liberals who put first our success in the war, and want to support the administration to that end. Such people see that every act of petty repression diverts attention from the main issues and creates unnecessary opposition. If the suffrage pickets were embarrassing, their power to embarrass has been doubled by their suppression. The forces who have most embarrassed the administration are those responsible for the action of the Washington police and magistrate.—*The New Republic, July 28.*

A Bad Example for Russia

THE friction between the police and the civilians, on the one hand, and the pickets of the suffragettes on the other, is greatly to be deplored. There is no cogent reason why the women stationed in Washington for a sincere cause should be molested. If their attitude was bellicose and their actions disturbing, I would heartily approve of some action by the police to check them.

But the fact is that their actions were neither defiant nor a trespass upon the rights granted them as citizens of this country. Certainly it is a gross injustice to the women to restrain them from exercising their constitutional rights. How can we expect the new Russia to model her government after ours when we manifest to her representatives here a flagrant violation of the most important right of a democracy—the right of free speech?—*Morris Brown—Baltimore Evening Sun, June 28.*

Is This Democracy?

SIXTEEN educated, refined American women have been sent to jail for committing a political offense. Their offense consisted in telling, by means of inscriptions upon banners, certain undeniable truths that the government did not like to be told. Not only have these women been jailed, but they are being treated as common criminals.

When these things happened in czar-ridden Russia we free Americans expressed our unmitigated horror at such conditions, and declared that they were a product of despotism. When similar things happened in England, we were duly shocked and asserted that American women, in their struggle for the ballot, would not have to resort to militant methods; that American men would never permit American women to be made martyrs. Today the principle of political equality has been fully established in Russia, and England is on the verge of enfranchising her women. But the United States has been Russianized, and American women who have committed no other crime but to demand their rights, are being treated with no more consideration than were the British militant suffragettes and the revolutionary women of Russia.

There is only one difference: Russia in the days of her czar never pretended to be a free country. Her despotism was at least an honest one. England, when jailing her suffragettes, did not brag about her glorious institutions of liberty and equality. But America today is the self-appointed leader of the world toward political freedom. Our government pretends to have entered this war for no other purpose than to make the world safe for democracy, and every government official and every big and little politician is holding forth in glowing phrases about human justice and the rights of the people. Verily, we must fear to be recorded in the annals of the world's history as a nation of hypocrites.—*The New York Call, July 25.*

The Poor Judge!

REVERSING his own ruling that no case lay against the White House pickets so long as they "kept moving," Judge Mullowney today sentenced eleven suffragists to a fine of $25 each or three days in the District jail, for picketing with banners before the White House. He repeated his former decision made in the case of the six women arrested for standing at the White House gates, that the suffragists were the "proximate" cause of possible disorder.

Sentence was pronounced late this afternoon, after the judge had pleaded with the eleven prisoners for nearly an hour to "keep away from the White House."

Failing to extract any promises of "not to do it again," the judge tried to induce the women to pay the fines imposed, offering personally to pay the fine of any women who might not have money with her. One by one they thanked the judge, but shook their heads.

As they filed out of the court room to take their places in the "black Maria"—every woman had refused to send for a private automobile to take her to the jail—the judge's eyes filled with tears.—*Chicago Tribune, July 7.*

The Petty Whim

THE sight of highbred women disturbing the peace in pursuit of their petty whim.—*New York Times Editorial, July 20, 1917.*

That petty whim, alas, alas,
  What trouble it has always made;
What horrid wars has brought to pass,
  What tyrants slain, what kings betrayed,
What conflicts made 'twixt class and class,
  What martyrs, firm and unafraid,
What men have died on land and sea,
For it—this whim of being free.

Oh, women, let us pray that we
  In days to come, in life's decline,
May see, though we ourselves are free,
  The road stretch on, the vision shine;
Oh, pray that we may never be
  Like him who wrote that shabby line,
Pray God we may not be like him,
Who looks on freedom as a whim.

—*Alice Duer Miller in The New York Tribune, July 29.*

Speaker Clark Has Wanted Suffrage for 27 Years

MR. CLARK (Speaker Champ Clark), who knows that today is the only day for good work, should use his important power to bring about now the realization of his vision of twenty-seven years ago. There could be no better day for doing justice to women than this day of war, with the sons of women enrolled for service, and for death.

The time has gone by for classifying women with Indians, idiots, children, and the lower animals.

The nation will deserve greater success in the war for justice that has been forced upon it, if it will find the time now to do justice to the millions of American women that supply soldiers to the army and courage to the nation.

Rather inconsistent to ask the Kaiser for justice to the world, while America refuses justice to women.—*The Washington Times, June 29.*

A Picture that Tells the Story

THE photographs in THE SUFFRAGIST are interesting. I think that little white figure of Mabel Vernon marching alone with her banner, followed by the *alien* males, eager to attack, speaks volumes—it is a wonderful picture and tells the whole story.—*Kathrine Boyle, member of the Advisory Council, National Woman's Party.*

Perfection

IN celebration of the Fall of the Bastile—the day France observes as her Independence Day—sixteen American women stood with their banners before the White House in Washington, and they were taken to jail. But this is a "democracy," a perfect democracy from which men are sent to teach the heathen what justice is!—*Miami, Fla., Daily Metropolis, July 18.*

Helping to Destroy Democracy

AN administration that has persistently refused justice to women now tries to silence their demand for a redress of their grievance by sending them to prison. What did President Wilson mean when, before his re-election, he promised the delegates to the national suffrage convention in Atlantic City that he would "fight for them"? At this convention women had gathered from all over the United States—women voters from the West as well as disfranchised women from the East. Did President Wilson mean that judges appointed by him and policemen whose positions come through commissioners whom the President appoints, should act for him? Did the convention delegates misunderstand their honored guest?

Think of our government's asking the co-operation of women to win the war and refusing to allow them the dignity of free service! Common decency would seem to demand it.

But if Siberian exiles can be recalled to a republic of Russia, if freedom can be granted to women in other warring countries, perhaps the fearlessness of American women and their eager desire to serve their country fully may, when the situation becomes more acute, help to destroy autocracy in our land and make us in fact what we are now only in name.—*Caroline Katzenstein, in the Philadelphia Press, July 18.*

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List of Contributions from July 23 Through July 28, 1917

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Mrs. Frances Ackerman	$ 125.00
Miss Mary H. Ingham	35.00
Mrs. E. Dana Durand	15.00
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Mrs. James Whittemore	25.00
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